harvesters received 16 per cent of the grain as their share. 241

Caingin harvests require hard work, more so than in the lowland, due to the slope of the fields and the less comfortable working conditions. Yet, according to informants, the harvests are not without their pleasant aspects. The womenfolk visit; old friends renew acquaintances and new friends are met. The young people often have better courting opportunities; some people said they first met their spouses at these harvests. The children play games at the end of the day. Accounts of these harvests in the mountains gives one the impression that they are much gayer affairs than lowland harvests. The end of a caingin rice harvest is usually climaxed by a loto. 574 241

The Rice Harvest Loto

The loto is quite similar to the dulot held for caingin and lowland corn harvests.[17] The purposes of the

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16 (Continued) in this manner for the figures on corn, both upland and lowland. For example, one informant said it took three gantas of seed corn to plant his lowland field from which he obtained a total harvest of twelve baskets. These figures were recorded as one corn field of three-fifths of a hectare (1.48 acres) with a harvest of about 4-1/6 cavans. For rice the farmers could give their harvest figures in gantas of palay.

17 Loto is the root word of the verb "to cook"; magloto the future tense, nagloto is the present tense, and naloto the past tense. Loto with a hard final o means a "food offering made for the rice harvest" but with a soft final o means "mourning clothing" worn by both sexes. Loto or kan-on also means "any food cooked" but is usually understood to mean cooked rice or cornmeal. While the harvest ceremonies for corn and rice are basically the same, loto is normally used to describe the rice ceremonies while dulot is applied to the corn harvest ceremonies.

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines
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loto and the dulot are to offer a thanksgiving for a good harvest (or a better one next year), to honor and placate departed souls and the unseen spirits, and to accomplish magical multiplication of the grain. While there are certain minor differences between the loto and the dulot, the food offerings are almost identical. The dulot most likely is a variation of the rice loto that was transferred to the harvests of caingin and lowland corn after the latter grain was introduced to the Philippines by the Spaniards in the 16th century. Oracion's account of the rice harvest ceremony of the primitive Magahats corresponds closely to the loto and dulot of Siaton.

However, the ceremony for the harvest of lowland rice in Caticugan and neighboring barrios is quite different from either the loto or dulot. Most likely the stronger influence of Catholicism, better educational opportunities, and more frequent contacts with the principalia of the poblacion, are probable factors that have led the lowland barriofolk to modify the paganistic harvest ceremonies of their forefathers. The lowland rice loto in Caticugan has been changed into a basically Christian ceremony while the corn harvest dulot is quite different from the dulot practiced in the northern barrios of the Siaton River valley. A special investigation was made of variations of the dulot that illustrate the processes of change as they are occurring in the Siaton River valley. This material is presented later in this chapter.

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The day before the loto the womenfolk prepare pilipig, toasted rice pounded almost flat in the rice mortar.[18] The morning the loto is to be held by the owner of the caingin, his family prepares the food offering. Oracion writes that during the rice harvest ceremonies of the Magahats

> The food for the diwata [unseen spirits] is cooked separately on an open hearth outdoors by the owner himself. It is believed that since this is a thanksgiving offering the owner should show his heartfelt reverence by actually performing all the work.[19]

Whether this is the case for the food offering of the caingin loto in Siaton I do not know. However, the family who holds the ceremony for the dulot has the responsibility of preparing the food offering. Friends, however, often help the host family cook the food to be served to guests after the loto.

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In the evening (among the Magahats when there is a full moon) a temporary bamboo table is constructed and put in the center of the harvested caingin. On this table are placed plates of pilipig, seven tigols (home-made cigarettes), seven tinostos (home-made cigars), seven tilads (the ingredients for betel chewing), one roasted chicken, one boiled egg, sometimes shelled, seven bina-ang (a type of rice cake), seven binaluksan

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[18] I never witnessed a loto; this is a reconstructed account based on information gathered from various informants in the Siaton River valley and Caticugan.

[19] Oracion, op. cit., p. 59.

(rice wrapped in coconut leaves and then boiled), one plate of cooked rice, and four bamboo containers of tuba made from either the coconut or ediok palms.[20]

Guests normally do not participate in the offering but stand or sit around the edges of the field. Some women may be inside the house preparing food for the meal that follows the ceremony. If the caingin owner feels confident, he may conduct the ceremony himself. Otherwise he will request a man well-versed in the ritual to make his offering. The "speech" given during the brief ritual, however, appears to be an improvisation and not a recitation that requires a nimble memory. Yet many people do not wish to perform the ceremonies for the loto or the dulot because they believe any mistakes might offend the unseen spirits they seek to please.

The ceremony is always conducted by a man. No cases were reported of a woman who made the loto or dulot; this is interesting because the magical rites connected with lowland agriculture are normally performed by women. The man goes to the center of the caingin and stands by by the table. Speaking to the spirits and kalags (souls) of the parents or relatives of the caingin cultivator, he invites them to dine on the proffered food. The specialist may repeat his invitation in a whisper or speak loudly. According to one female informant, what is said usually is:

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[20] The Magahats offer one chicken, seven tilad, seven rice cakes, seven tinostos, two glasses of tuba, and three candles. Oracion, op. cit., p. 59-60.

Most barriofolk go to Omanod to work as harvesters while some women and young girls go to barter bread, matches, used American clothing and other wares for corn. These vendors rarely sell their wares for money. They barter for corn, and get more corn than they could if they sold their articles. Sometimes, when the harvest is over, the vendors will sell their remaining merchandise rather than carry it home. Others go to Omanod solely to buy corn for the price is lower than in Siaton poblacion. The people usually stay with relatives or friends in Omanod during the harvest period.

Unhusked corn is usually stored in the house, the ears piled in a corner of the room or in a bin. Corn is not husked until it is ready to be shelled and ground. Lagit stones or sea shells may be put with the corn to protect it from the weevils that often do considerable damage. Perhaps only one out of every twenty families in Caticugan has a separate storehouse for corn. The average family's corn supply is small and consumed steadily so individual storehouses are unnecessary. Storehouses that exist are usually built near the residences, although in a few cases they may be at the field's edge. Theft is rare because many would be afraid to steal corn for fear of barang.[50]

[50] Barang is the belief in the supernatural ability of certain persons to cause illness or death to their enemies. These specialists are said to own magical bees that are trained to penetrate the victim's body at their owner's command. Several cases of deaths allegedly due to barang motivated by thievery were reported by the barriofolk of Caticugan.

TABLE XX (Continued)

21. Kalamongay stems ("kalamongay sometimes looks like a dead stick but it keeps sending out new growth all the time")	21. To keep the sap flowing
22. Lead from a bullet	22. Protection against "envious persons"
23. Paniawan vine	23. Protection against "envious persons"

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The purposes of the various items used in the guhang lihi can be classified into three categories: (1) to protect the buri from "envious persons"; (2) to improve the guhang's flavor; (3) to ensure an abundant and constant flow of sap. The flow and the taste of sap are two uncertainties in making guhang; this may account for their more complete coverage by magic.

There is good reason for this obvious concern over "envious persons" who may desire to harm the buri producing guhang. It is difficult to refuse friends, and especially relatives, a free glass or two of guhang. Yet if one does not refuse there would be little to sell. Both sexes are fond of guhang and gather regularly around the buris when the owners are collecting guhang. If a palm is noted for a particularly fine-flavored guhang, it attracts more barriofolk. While many will not ask for a free drink the purpose of their presence is painfully clear to the tree's owner. Their thirst normally is limited only by the donor's generosity.

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I often frequented guhang trees because they were excellent places to gather information; "mellowed" by the drink the people often enjoyed discussing and arguing over answers to questions. I never saw a group refused free drinks. If an owner were "greedy" with his guhang nothing would have been said at the time which the guhang owners know. This disgruntled individual might later return to the tree as "envious person"; generosity in Caticugan was usually sired of a warm heart and a practical mind.

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One of my most pleasant memories is sitting with the men at the top of the buri, under the little thatch covering, drinking, smoking and talking. Thirty feet above the ground the air was cooler and fresher and a breeze usually rustled the dead fronds. Below the community stretched out under its quilt-like fields. At the palm's base might be a small group of men and married women drinking guhang as it was lowered from the top in a bamboo container tied to a rope. If a few young dalagas passed, salacious wisecracks would usually be made by the young men with malicious cheerfulness and the girls might be so bold as to stop for a drink. In the distance one could hear the dull echo of a manamguete's "bamboo gong" (tambol), signaling the vendors who wished to purchase guhang that he was in his tree.

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When the groups gather at the guhang trees it is a time of relaxation, of gossiping, joking and discussing plans for tomorrow. A game of dama (similar to checkers) might be started.

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unwelcome addition to the generally meatless diet of the barriofolk.[2] 224

Hunting wild pig is a strenuous, often dangerous, task. One may trot behind barking dogs for hours, up and down hills, across ravines, through tangled undergrowth and knife-like dry grass. When the exhausted pig is cornered it is vicious. Now and then a hunter is badly mauled and frequently dogs are killed by a wounded pig. There are stories of hunters killed by a wild boar (tangwan) but such tragedies are rare.[3] The following incident describes a hunt that occurred in the vicinity of Barrio Cahangahan.

> One time my brother and I and two other people went out hunting wild pigs. Our dogs found a scent of a wild pig and the chase began. After two hours of chasing the tangwan that had badly

[2]Every Christmas season the young people of Caticugan carol for the residents of the barrio and the poblacion. The donations of money or food they receive are used for a party. One group of fourteen young men in 1952 decided instead of contributing chickens for the party to hunt wild pigs and donate whatever meat they killed. The group, with twenty-two dogs, was able to kill, in one morning, four pigs that each weighed from thirty to forty-five pounds. 574 224

[3]I never participated in a wild pig hunt. Several times I was invited to accompany a group on a hunt but refused on the basis that a previous operation (I exhibited my scar!) made it impossible for me to trot after the dogs for hours. This was not true but I was rather certain I could not maintain the necessary pace for a hunt. I did not wish to endanger my position among the young men by becoming an object of humorous ridicule. Gathering information on the hunting of wild pigs was not difficult except for the data on the bood--which I would not have been permitted, most likely, to witness had I participated in a hunt. 123

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Marine molluaks are gathered mainly by women and young girls; men and young boys infrequently participate. The molluaks are gathered at low tide usually during or just before a full moon; the women enjoy collecting snails and clams. They bathe, gossip, playfully splash water on friends while dipping coconut shells into the sand for the clams. The marine clams most frequently gathered are Kalaykay and Toway; the marine snails are Tabono and Tandaday.

At the July full moon I visited the seashore one afternoon. The most popular place to collect snails and clams is a rocky stretch of beach just east of the Siaton River mouth. About seventy individuals were hunting along the rocky beach; they were women or young girls and a very few elderly men. Ten were from Catiugan; others came from the poblacion, from Barrios Mantuyop, and from Sumalaring. Some dug in the sand for clams, and put them into a container or popped them into their mouths. When their mouths were full they walked to the beach and put these clams in a container. Some women dropped the clams into their blouse fronts.

The most abundant of all these marine snails and clams is the Kalaykay; about the size of a quarter. The Tandagay, said to be "very good eating," are often collected on rainy days when they stick to stones in shallow water.

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Barriofolk rarely go to the nipa swamps just to collect clams and snails. They usually combine this task with getting nipa leaves.

When the holes[1] are dug, the posts are laid beside them. Their tops point in a particular direction, depending on the month. Napta states that for January, February and March the posts must face the northeast, for the following three months the southwest, for the next three months to the east and for the last three months toward the northeast. The directions correlate with the southwest and northeast monsoons. This custom is to prevent accidents to the house such as fire or flood. 335 789 777

Some informants said that the tops of the posts should be pointed with the wind. Two dwellings in Caticugan were begun in June and the posts were pointed toward the southwest before they were placed in their holes. Sometimes the post ends are charred to prevent termites from eating the wood after it is in the ground.

Putting heavy posts in their holes appears to be one of the few occasions for a palihog; several palihogs were witnessed in Caticugan for this task. In one case friends and neighbors of one man were invited to help him and his son put posts in holes already dug. Eight men came; when they finished the job, which took about an hour, they ate a meal prepared by the owner. After the meal the men went home but not until some of their wives and children also had come to eat. 335 574 476

There are different ways of erecting bamboo house posts. (See Plate LXIII.)[2] Since bamboo rots quickly in the ground a few barrio houses had bamboo house posts that rested on stone foundations. In one case short 335 342

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basins were made of wood instead of the tin ones used today. No one had Coleman lanterns for light.

HOUSE-WARMING CEREMONY

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When a new dwelling is finished it is customary to hold a novena to bless the house and its occupants; during the ninth (and last) evening of the novena a taktak ug bokbok occurs. When the prayers are over, the guests jump up and down on the floor "to make the destructive bokbok beetles fall to the ground." Some smoke rattan lashings with the sap of the salngan tree or soot from a lamp as a termite preventative.

No taktak ug bokbok was held during my visit; the dwelling must be completed. In Talo-ot, for example, one family had been living in their house for more than a year but the kitchen was unfinished. The "house warming" was not held "because our house is not finished. We must wait."[24]

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If visitors sleep in a dwelling the first night it is occupied they must continue to sleep in the house for

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[24]A story is reported from Guindulman, Bohol, of the young married couple who moved into a new dwelling. The husband's mother-in-law advised them to eat meagerly the first three days in their new house. Only four bananas were to be cooked and eaten, one each for the husband, wife, maid and the last banana to be put in the cupboard. "'The ordeal is called a lihi,' Pemyong the husband explained. 'It sets a sort of pattern for frugal living. The limited meal of one banana and one pata [a salted black fish caught in the river] would remind us to economize always. The extra banana represents our savings which will accumulate through the years and make us rich.'" Joan Fernandez, "How to Get Rich," The Philippines Free Press, XLIII, No. 36 (September 6, 1952), pp. 22-3. This custom is unknown in Caticugan.

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three consecutive nights. If this is not done the occupants will be plagued with misfortune and illness.

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Some house posts have white crosses painted on them as protection against harmful spirits. A few houses had placed under the entrance ladder a small cross made of a thorny wood (salay). The barriofolk explain that this custom of painting or putting crosses on or near their homes originated shortly before the last war. Tales of a "headless" nun who brought typhoid came to southern Negros from Cebu. This supernatural nun was said to visit a dwelling and call out, "Good evening." If any occupants answered her before the greeting was repeated three times one of the family became ill of typhoid and died. To protect themselves the people started to paint crosses on the posts or to erect one near the house entrance. Houses so "protected" were avoided by the "headless" nun who also did not trouble people with the family name of Cruz (cross).

When these tales reached southern Negros some people in Siaton were said to have built crosses as thick as a man's leg. Even today some people will not answer a "good evening" greeting from a visitor outside their house until it is repeated three times. There is a parallel here with the Spanish custom that once required Filipinos to introduce themselves three times to Spaniards before they were recognized.

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51:Hart E-3 (1950-1952)1954 OAl Philippines
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Kahologan begins around four or five in the morning with the *diana* or reveille. After this event some *poblacions* may have a small fireworks display or shoot off a few booming rockets. Then, from about six to nine, masses are held. The church is usually jammed and more men are present than at the regular weekly services. (In the *barrios* only one mass is performed on *kahologan*, often the only mass of the year in the small chapel owing to the shortage of priests in the Philippines.)[9] After the masses there is a light breakfast (*pa-init*) of various types of rice cakes (*puto, bodbod*, or *bingka*), bread, hot chocolate, fruit, etc. The remainder of the morning is devoted to sports— basketball, volleyball, and softball games, horse, bicycle, and "crab" races, carabao fights, eating contests, or billiard competition. Often teams vie for prizes or trophies which have been donated by patrons, and are awarded *kahologan* evening.

At twelve noon the church bells are rung, often three times, and the orchestra marches around the *poblacion*, playing loudly and enthusiastically. This is the *jornada*. Rockets may be fired into the air and the *luthangs* (home-made bamboo cannons) shot. This is when the "big feast" of the fiesta is served. There is often much competition among the *principalia* to attract to their dwelling for this dinner the most prominent visitors to the fiesta. Since food is synonymous with hospitality for most Filipinos, the tables groan under the weight of different meat courses, rice and noodle dishes, *lechon* (roast pig), drinks (coke, beer, and perhaps whisky and brandy), etc. A number of Filipino hostesses told the writer, when he attended fiestas in in the larger *poblacions* or in Dumaguete, that they admired the American custom of serving a meal consisting of only several courses. However, to do so during a *kahologan* dinner, they said, would be considered unfavorably by their guests. Meals are served in relays, the tables being cleared after one setting and reset for the next group of guests. Visiting friends during *kahologan* is often most painful, since one must eat, at least the delicacies prepared by one's hosts, although one's capacity to consume more food is absolutely non-existent.

After dinner, which may continue for several hours, with guests coming

[9] In 1952 there were 2492 Catholic priests in the Philippines for an estimated 15,810,024 Catholics, or one priest for 6340 Catholics. The average of the Philippines is lower than the average of Latin America (one priest for 5104 Catholics) and much lower than the average for the United States (one priest for 620 Catholics). Leo A. Cullum, S.J., "Distribution of Priests", *Philippine Studies*, 1:169-173, September, 1953. A review of an article written by J. Luzzi, S. J., "L'appel de l' Amerique latine", *Nouvelle Revue Theologique*.

51:Hart E-3 (1950-1952)1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14

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666 of the 'poblacion', thanks to the deep and abiding interest of congressman.. in the welfare and well-being of the community.

A top government official of Negros Oriental province stated in his message printed in one fiesta program that he would be unable to attend the event because:

> I am leaving for Manila soon in the interest and welfare of our province.

The congressman of one of the districts of Negros Oriental praised a local official in his fiesta message, stating he

> (official's name) . . , is the guiding star that points to me the things needed by this town and hence I can say safely that the improvements and beautification of (the town) . . . is due mostly to the endeavor and sacrifices of our beloved. . . . (official's name).

The former Vice-President of the Philippines in his message printed on one fiesta program urged that the people work together because:

> Communal solidarity is necessary for the success of this affair just as national unity is essential for the growth of a nation. . . . To promote this unity, it is imperative for us to cultivate a community spirit against the factors that cause dissension and disorder among the people—corrupt practices of officials and individuals alike, such as abuse of authority and profiteering practiced by opportunists on the helpless masses. These corruptions can be remedied by the combined efforts on the part of the government authorities and the people.

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554 The fiestas stimulate local commercial activities. All who can afford it, and many who cannot, buy a new dress or a pair of trousers, clothing for the children, get a permanent wave, or purchase large supplies of food for their expected guests. Some Filipinos will borrow money or mortgage their land in order to have the means to entertain properly their visitors during the annual fiesta. So much personal and family prestige is involved that few measures are too drastic for some to maintain the expected level of hospitality; this is particularly true in the *poblacions*. Frugalities of the year, the penny-pinching to make ends meet, the saving for the unknown exigencies of the future, are discarded by many Filipinos for several days of "fun and frolic," of living fully.

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443 To the *poblacions* and *barrios*, even such as Caticugan but less so, come many itinerant vendors selling a variety of wares, normally unavaila-

51:Hart E-3 (1950-1952)1954 OAI Philippines
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574 181 Third, the fiesta is an economic investment. One's guests will, in the future, be one's hosts during their fiesta. In fact, this is one of several reasons given for organizing new *barrio* fiestas in southern Negros. The people felt ashamed to attend fiestas in neighboring communities without having a fiesta of their own when they could reciprocate enjoyed hospitality. In the long run, the bread thrown on the water returns. In some cases doubled. From this point of view the fiesta may not be as wasteful as many Filipinos believe.

796 181 *Fourth*, the fiesta serves a religious function, particularly in the *barrios* distant from the *poblacion* church. The fiesta is often the only time in the year the priest visits the local chapel and holds mass in the community for the barriofolk. Sometimes combining a baptismal or wedding celebration with the fiesta serves to reduce the family expenses by making a normal entertainment unnecessary by coordination with the fiesta. *Fifth*, the fiesta re-inforces the people's feeling of solidarity within the *barrio* or *poblacion*, although sometimes the event may enhance competitiveness between different communities. Most Filipinos take great pride in their *barrio* or *poblacion* fiesta. *Sixth*, the *barrio* and *poblacion* fiesta often reunite, for the only time of the year, members of the immediate families. The ideal pattern is for one always to return to one's home fiesta. It is not at all uncommon to meet relatives from Siquijor, Cebu, Panay, Leyte, or even more distant places, at Negros Oriental fiestas.

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796 794 181 *Seventh*, the fiesta furnishes the church with a sizeable annual income. The money collected for baptisms, masses, and the church's participation in the various religious activities of the fiestas is an important aspect of the financial support of the church by the people. The fiesta often renews the authority of the church in more isolated areas where this authority and responsibility lies dormant for most of the year. *Eight*, the fiesta in the larger *barrio* and *poblacion* is a commercial stimulant to the economic life of the community. Prices are often raised, purchases of food and clothing more frequent and larger than normal. The fiesta creates new wants and needs which do not exist during most of the year.

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426 181 *Ninth*, the fiesta is a means by which the indebtedness of many families is increased, by borrowing money to entertain their guests properly. Some families may mortgage their land for "agricultural" loans and others sell farmyard animals to raise a little cash for the fiesta. However, the waste may not be as great as imagined by many Filipinos. One's guests may next month be one's hosts. The fiesta also stimulates many people to work harder, and for others it is an oppotunity to augment the pitifully small family cash income by selling food and drink. *Tenth*, in the larger *barrio*